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SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF EDUCATION

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with the cooperation of:

Omar Pancoast and Donald R. Tobey.

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INTRODUCTION

INCREASINGLY IN RECENT YEARS schoolmen as well as other public servants employed in the various social utilities have come to see clearly that the social forces of any given period affect, even where they do not condition, the functioning of such social institutions as schools, churches, libraries, departments of public health and even government itself. The social background is therefore of large importance.

This issue of the REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH has been broadened to include research not only in the specific field of educational sociology but also concerning the effect of education on society in the large. The broadened scope has compelled a brevity of treatment. Quite a number of excellent studies in the fields covered have had to be omitted. Nonetheless, at some of the more important points the authors have ventured to include summaries of the works listed, occasionally to interpret from the point of view of education.

It was originally intended to present the material in four parts dealing respectively with social forces, the human material of education, the school as a social institution, and the social function of education. Some deviation from this organization became necessary, though the intended scope has been covered.

Studies from the fields of both pure sociology and educational sociology will be found, dealing with such areas as: changing population trends, the place of the family, the influence of technology, the economic basis of education and social life, the influence of governmental expansion upon democracy, the rapidly developing field of communication, the social habitat of the public school, the developing sociology of youth, the social significance of adult education, the relation of public education to welfare, and the influence of education in building democratic social attitudes and in effecting social change.

This issue does not deal with research in many social problem areas such as housing, slums, politics, health, occupational hazards, leisure and recreation, and so on through a considerable list in which research has been done that has educational implications. Limitation of space made rigid selection necessary.

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER, *Chairman,
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of Education.*

CHAPTER I

Large Social Forces Affecting Education¹

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER²

Culture Variations

PEOPLE WHO MAKE UP POPULATIONS are of varied capacities, nationalities, and residence. They have varying backgrounds and cultural heritages. They are variously influenced by national trends and by differing economic functions and environments. One section of the National Resources Committee study (80) gave attention to this cultural diversity in American life. The various cultural and nationality groups that came to America were not prearranged. Motives for migration covered a wide social and economic range, including even compulsion in the case of the Negroes. There was originally no common purpose. With restricted immigration the preponderance of the northern European stocks, which originally contributed so much to this continent, seems to be assured. Nonetheless, minority groups are large and important. The Negroes are the largest and every educator is familiar with the handicaps of this race and the difficulties in those states which have a dual school system of giving to them education functionally the equal of that accorded to the dominant race (114). Something of the same situation applies to the three million Spanish-speaking persons in the Southwest.

The Southeast is notable for the homogeneity of its white stock which has been set aside from much of America by geographic, social, and economic factors, such as cotton and tobacco culture and the Civil War. It is a region which has produced the share cropper and the southern mountaineer. The latter especially illustrates the effects of geographic isolation and the consequent persistence of mores and even language habits that have largely disappeared from the rest of America. These factors are also touched on in other studies (112, 119, 129). In other parts of rural America the cultural transitions have been easier.

Urban diversity is much greater. The urban population is made up of descendants of the original settlers and those who flooded in from the rural areas and by immigrants from overseas. The last two groups frequently live in cultural islands in our cities which retard assimilation and make serious problems for governmental administrators, educators, and others. There have been numerous studies in this general area, of which Maller's (67) is the most recent. He found that retardation in some of the districts in New York City is more than twice what it is in more favored districts. Similarly, there is a tenfold variation in daily newspaper circulation, nearly as much

¹ Bibliography for this chapter begins on page 52.

² Wilbur C. Hallenbeck and Charles C. Peters assisted by preparing two sections of the chapter, as indicated subsequently.

in the proportion of boys belonging to Scout troops, and so on through a long list of cultural, social, and economic factors. Nonetheless, these immigrant and other isolated groups, especially when encouraged and given opportunity, have made substantial contributions to American culture in sculpture, painting, and a wide variety of graphic arts and handicrafts (29, 30).

Regional Factors

Implicit in the foregoing statements is the effect of geography or region. A given population may be said to be a product of the physical environment, soil, climate, and the like; of historical episodes, including those of settlement, of economic opportunity and function, and of the cultural heritages and social structure and organization, all of which interact (56). This complex of factors sets the bounds to broad but roughly definable regions in the United States. This concept of regionalism, originally developed by several rural sociologists two decades ago and continuously used in that branch of science, has been fruitfully explored of late by Odum and others (85, 86).

Thus, when undesirable tendencies in land use and tenure, such as overstocking of range lands, the use of forest or grazing areas for agriculture, with consequent soil erosion, a depletion and wastage, together with uneconomic operating units, excessive tenancy, dependency, tax delinquency, and heavy migration, indicate that a given region or subregion faces readjustments in its whole economic life, social institutions, including schools, are vitally affected as to their stability and location. Various educational agencies can become useful partners in the task of educating the people in the indicated program of readjustment and development (41, 62). A number of the colleges of agriculture have also made significant studies of subregions within states and their effects on population and institutions such as schools. Typical and most recent of these is by Lively and Gregory (60).

These regional influences are plain from any examination of commonly reported educational statistics, but only recently have such variations been related to some of their underlying causes. Edwards (31) has shown, for instance, that the poorer states and regions, measured by any of several planes-of-living indexes, have markedly lower per pupil expenditures than richer areas, though they put forth considerably more effort to support education than the more fortunate ones.

Population Growth

The National Resources Committee Report on Problems of a changing Population (80) revealed a number of trends. The rate of increase in our population is steadily decreasing both because of the sharp restriction of immigration and because of the declining birth-rate. One measure of this

declining birth-rate is the number of children under five years of age for each 1,000 women twenty to forty-four years of age. For whites, this figure was 1,300 at the beginning of the nineteenth century, about 800 in 1880, 600 in 1920, and 500 in 1930. The increase in the school population is also slackening; in many cities the elementary grades have begun actually to decline.

Though this change in growth rate is a national phenomenon, its incidence varies greatly among the states and regions and as between rural and urban areas. The cities are no longer producing enough children to maintain their present populations without migration. In rural America there is a surplus of 50 to 60 percent. Many high fertility states have low per capita wealth yet they have many more children to support for every 1,000 wage earners than the richer, low fertility states. These and other facts are presented from the point of view of their educational implications by Edwards (31).

Future trends are discussed fully in the National Resources Committee report (80) which in turn based much of its work on the inclusive and definitive study by Thompson and Whelpton (115). Whelpton (124) also reviewed many population studies and outlined needed research. More recently, Fairchild (34) raised fundamental questions as to both the quantity and quality of population. He especially related population trends to a number of modern problems such as wars, migrations, politics, social institutions, and birth control. He also explored the connections between population phenomena and various levels of living.

Differential Fecundity

A number of studies (31, 76, 78, 83, 89, 106) are concerned with a tendency for fecundity to be less in the upper occupational and educational levels than in the lower. This subject is dealt with later, but we may note here that the generalizations of some of these studies need not be viewed with unrelieved pessimism. Parten and Reeves (90) found that the tendency for size of families to decrease with higher incomes did not hold for the highest income level in New Haven; there the proportion of large families among persons with incomes of \$5,000 a year or more was as great as at the lowest income level. She also found that the common belief that Negroes have large families is erroneous; for the United States as a whole, the median Negro family contained 3.15 persons—the smallest of all the nativity groups. Notestein and Kiser (84) showed that in Stockholm, Sweden, fertility increases with income; and Savorgnan (100) found that in Europe, taken as a whole, the fertility of the aristocracy exceeds that of the contemporary French, English, American, and Prussian middle classes. Kimball (51), from a study of occupational and population trends, forecast necessary adaptations in educational and social policy, especially with reference to vocational training.

Population Migration

Migration has been a familiar part of the American scene since the seventeenth century. Goodrich and others (37, 38, 116) have published appraisals of the facts and problems of migration. They analyzed migration regionally against contrasts in economic levels and the changing demands for manpower, and they contrasted our unguided population movements with foreign experience. Many states also have studied this problem from their several points of view, especially under the auspices of the experiment stations of the colleges of agriculture and the state or regional planning boards. Among these are Stanbury's study (108) in Oregon, Clark and Roberts (23) in Kansas, and Wakeley (120) in Iowa. The National Resources Committee report (80) summarized the field of population redistribution in one chapter.

Studies of rural migration have also appeared in quantity within the last five years, again most of them from the sociologists of the colleges of agriculture. A national study was made by Lively and Taeuber (59) covering rural population movements since 1900 with special reference to the farm population from 1930 to 1937. They related this rural migration to rural reproduction, selected socio-economic factors, characteristics of migrants, and the effects of migration on both rural and urban life. They have accented the fact that though the rural population increased during the period 1900 to 1930, half the 3,000 counties decreased during this time. Part of the problem of adjusting to incoming population is indicated by the fact that only 30 percent of the migrants to farms stay. Though educational facilities are affected by migration in or out, they are not of primary importance in determining the rate of migration. Edwards (31) discussed migration from the point of view of education. Attention should also be drawn to a useful, brief summary, based on many research studies, of the effect of population changes on American education by the Educational Policies Commission (76).

Changes in the Family and Family Life ^a

From the standpoint of education there are a number of things to be looked for in studies of the family. Education for home and family life has developed recently on the adult level, in colleges, and even in secondary schools. What is the extent, character, and value of these activities? The rapidly changing social framework of life has had its effect upon attitudes toward marriage and the family. What is the measure of these changes? Families have changed materially in their characteristics. In the light of our growing consciousness of the effect of conditions in community and family life on the education of children, what are the implications of these changes for the organization of schools and the processes of education? Some basic

^a This section was prepared by Wilbur C. Hallenbeck.

studies of marital adjustment have been made which augur a more substantial foundation for education having as its objective happier families.

Education for family life—Parent education among adults has continued to grow in numbers of classes, organizations sponsoring activities, and persons involved (127). Many references to courses in colleges (44) and some in secondary schools are to be found, but no recent data on their extent have been located. Some idea of the content of this type of education is revealed here and there, though it has not been systematically analyzed (22). The need, but inadequacy, of college instruction in sex is apparent (15, 91, 99). Many difficulties are involved in measuring the value of these types of education objectively. Carter (20) reported a subjective appraisal of the social significance of parent education in its broadening concerns and increasing emphasis on the development of parents as adult individuals.

Attitudes toward marriage—Education in the broadest sense has certainly been one of the factors contributing to the changes in attitudes toward marriage and the family in recent years. Whether these changes have been for the better or worse, education for home and family life must take them into account in reference to its purposes. A number of types of studies of changed attitudes are to be found. The *Fortune* survey (36) of opinion of the people of the United States included three questions in this area: regarding the easing of divorce laws, the desirable age for marriage, and premarital sex experience. College students have come in for special study of attitudes largely because they represent newer ideas on marriage, sex, and the family (7, 10, 53, 68, 110). There has been a summary of various surveys of recent changes in attitudes toward sex and marriage (82).

Factors related to marriage—Closely related to changing attitudes are actual changes in marriage and divorce with which many studies have been concerned. Stouffer and Spencer (109) treated the basic statistics, and Ogburn (87) summarized recent changes. A number of studies have dealt with particular aspects of mating, that is, propinquity of residence (27), occupations (96), age (28), prosperity and depression (65), psychological factors (50), and length of acquaintance (97). May and Blinn (70) showed how changed attitudes and practices have been reflected in legislation.

Other factors affecting family life—Those who are concerned with the relationship of organized education to its community setting are aware that changes which have taken place in size, constituency, and circumstances of family life have profound implications for schools. In this connection, therefore, the many more basic sociological studies of families are of importance. From these only a few can be cited as illustrative: for size and composition of families, Truex (117), Parten and Reeves (90), and Goodsell (39); for marriage rates, Bossard (13); for birth-rates, Kiser (55) and Lotka (63).

Ogburn (88, 98: 661-708) has done the most extensive research covering the range of changes which the family has experienced in recent years.

One of the most important aspects of Ogburn's treatment is the changes in functions of the family. Unfortunately, the data were treated in terms of loss of function rather than analyzed for determining a presentday functional pattern. One of the important changes in function of the family is related to the increase in the number of women going out of the home to work, as reported by Pidgeon (92, 94) and Amidon (2). Many of these women go into new service occupations (128). These changing conditions have been reflected in legislation (93). One direct influence on education has been in the extensive recent development of nursery schools.

Other problems of family life which have come in for study include: the influence of parental attitudes (61, 126); behavior problems with reference to socio-economic circumstances (95); home discipline (118); home environment in the adjustment of high-school pupils (24, 52); the influence of broken homes (122); and foster homes (101, 103). Social and economic conditions in communities and in general make their impact upon families and their children and also serve to condition children for education. Business cycles affect marriage rates (13, 67); class differences are reflected in fertility. The depression has taken its toll in family life (4, 19, 21, 25, 72). Housing is an important factor in the welfare of families (36). Families of minority groups are especially affected by attitudes and opportunities (49). Mowrer (75) attempted to discover the ecology of family disintegration.

Marital adjustment—Recent concentration of research on the problems of marital adjustment has added greatly to the effectiveness of education for home and family life, an inescapable responsibility of organized educational programs.

Terman and others in *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (113) reported an extended search for psychological and psychosexual correlates of marital happiness which involved 2,484 subjects, including 1,133 married couples and 109 divorced couples. Most of the report dealt with the relationship of some four hundred variables to the marital happiness scores of 792 married couples, who composed the main experimental group. Personality factors, background factors, and specific sexual adjustments were included. The first two of these were combined and utilized as the basis for estimating in advance the probable success of a given marriage. Here is the first extensive attempt to apply psychometric technics to the problems of marriage.

A preliminary study showed that personality traits are little correlated with marital happiness but that particularized attitudes are. The marital happiness score was based upon communality of interests, agreement and disagreement between spouses in different fields, methods of settling disagreements, etc. The data suggested that the degree of satisfaction which one finds in marriage depends partly upon one's own characteristic attitude and temperament, so that one's contentment need not closely parallel the happiness of one's marital partner. The background circumstances found

to be most predictive of marital happiness are: (a) superior happiness of parents, (b) childhood happiness, (c) lack of conflict with mother, (d) home discipline that was firm but not harsh, (e) strong attachment to mother, (f) strong attachment to father, (g) lack of conflict with father, (h) parental frankness about matters of sex, (i) infrequency and mildness of childhood punishment, and (j) premarital attitude toward sex that was free from disgust or aversion.

Burgess and Cottrell (18) in their *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* reported a study which is similar to Terman's in many respects and confirms it. A somewhat different tone in the study leads to generalizations of slightly different character. Six findings were given: (a) contrary to prevailing opinion, American wives make the major adjustment in marriage; (b) affectional relationships in childhood, typically of the son for the mother and the daughter for the father, condition the love-object choice of the adult; (c) the socialization of the person, as indicated by his participation in social life and social institutions, is significant for adjustment in marriage; (d) the economic factor in itself is not significant for adjustment in marriage, since it is apparently fully accounted for by the other factors (impression of cultural background, psychogenetic characteristics, social type, and response patterns); (e) with the majority of couples, problems of sexual adjustment in marriage appear to be a resultant not so much of biological factors as of psychological characteristics and of cultural conditioning of attitudes toward sex; (f) prediction before marriage of marital adjustment is feasible, and should and can be further developed through statistical and case-study methods. The final chapter of this report reviewed the significant previous researches in this field. There is also an extensive bibliography classified by the chapter headings of the book.

Survey of college families—One reference reported a combined study and research program carried out by local groups under the auspices of the American Association of University Women (46). This is of interest primarily because of a unique method. Study outlines were prepared in four problem areas of family life: (a) The American Family in a Changing Society; (b) Has the Homemaker Lost Her Job? (c) The Average Family—A Problem of Declining Population; and (d) The Modern Parent, A Social Engineer. In connection with the first two there were questionnaires, the first dealing with actual changes which had taken place in homes as a result of modern home facilities and their implications, the second being entitled "A Survey of My Average Week." The questionnaires were filled in by individuals, tabulated by a local committee, and then considered by local groups. The results of group discussion in connection with the third and fourth were also carefully recorded. The results of these processes were forwarded to the national office where in turn they were tabulated and analyzed. Valuable data have been procured concerning college women and their homes, with an added dependability due to the circumstances

under which they were obtained. It is hoped that the plan may be continued for at least three years with new groups cooperating each year, and it is expected that it will produce a picture of general trends in family life among college women. The implications of this experiment combining education and research are profound.

Wealth and Income

The status of any family is in part related to income. Although studies in this field are increasing in number and quality there has scarcely been time for economists and educators to make and test applications of findings to the field of education. The implications for administrators, curriculum makers, and guidance specialists, however, are many and must soon be explored. Some of the basic studies in this field are listed.

Leven and Wright (57) studied income in terms of occupational, industrial, geographic, age, sex, and color variations since 1929. The broader aspects of the problems of income and progress, as related to consumption, production, and the formation of capital, have been studied by the same research agency and reported by Moulton (74). These investigations, together with the income studies by the National Bureau of Economic Research, furnish a basis for determining family income and what can be purchased by it and should be highly suggestive to teachers of home economics. The National Resources Committee has also entered this field in its study of *Consumer Incomes in the United States* (79). A nationwide study of standards of living has been undertaken by several agencies, including the Bureau of Home Economics and the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The findings thus far have appeared principally in scattered press releases and articles; they are beginning to appear in bulletin form and will give valuable information as to the choices people make in spending what income they have. Application of these and other economic data to the field of educational finance are made by Heer, Mort, Edwards, and others in reports of the President's Advisory Committee on Education (32, 42, 45, 73).

The well-known inequalities of income as among families and regions inject consideration of the problems of those on relief. Literally hundreds of studies have been made in this area—about thirty-five by the WPA, over one-half of which are in the rural field. These studies show unvaryingly that the parents of relief families have had less formal education than those in nonrelief families and that children of relief families tend to enter school later and leave earlier than those from nonrelief families (43, 64). Brunner and Lorge (17) confirmed these results for agricultural villages. Woofter and Winston (130) have published an excellent summary of all the rural relief studies, with interpretations and program suggestions. In the area of problem solving and program, Ezekiel (33) has produced an interesting theoretical study.

Technology

This proposal of Ezekiel's (33) for industrial expansion not only dealt with income but came to grips with the problems raised by advancing technology and its inseparable companion, technological unemployment. Books and articles on these obstreperous twins of the modern social scene have poured from the presses in the last years and the basic data have been used by the protagonists of all shades of political philosophy both within and without the field of education. The implications for education, of course, are many and reasonably clear. They relate immediately to vocational education and guidance and to education for leisure. Less immediate, but perhaps no less important in the long run, emerge the questions relating to the social effects of inventions, unemployment, and increasing productivity, the prediction of and the resistance to new inventions, and the ultimate but basic problem of national policy and technology. These matters have been studied by the National Resources Committee (81). In addition, this report gives nearly two hundred pages to examining these themes in relation to the immediate past and present for nine basic groups of industries.

Another activity of the federal government, the National Research Project, has pushed deeper into this field in a number of industries and communities. To date 45 studies and an extensive bibliography have been issued. Ten of these relate to phases of agricultural production, including trends in employment (14, 102); the rest concern urban areas. From the point of view of this REVIEW, the most important of these studies are by Weintraub and Posner (123) and Magdoff, Siegel, and Davis (66). The findings point in the same direction and may be indicated by the summary statement that industrial production in 1935 was 114 percent of 1920's production, though because of lower prices, national monetary income, excluding work-relief payments, was only 79 percent of 1920. In 1935 the percent of the total man-years available that was actually used was 75. Anderson (3) gave an interesting discussion of these trends from the point of view of capitalism; after a statistical analysis he pleaded that wise social policy will work with, not against, the "dynamic forces which, since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, have been lifting the masses of men out of starved, narrow, stagnant and brutal lives."

Government and Democracy

The growing complexity of our socio-economic life has resulted in a huge expansion of governmental agencies and functions and also in serious questionings as to whether or not the democratic system can cope with modern conditions, especially in time of crisis. Probably the basic studies in this field have been those of President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends; these are summarized in Chapters 25-29 of the report (98). A later study (16) containing a plan for reorganizing the executive branch of the federal government was prepared by the Presidential Committee on Admin-

istrative Management. In terms of some of the larger issues, Secretary Wallace (121) wrote an inquiry into the general welfare which pleaded for a liberal interpretation of that phrase by the legislative and judicial branches of the government.

The present crisis in world society has called forth large numbers of publications dealing with democracy. Hudson (47) attempted a reconsideration of the basic concepts of this term and their significance in the light of presentday challenges which he felt could be met satisfactorily under our present system of government. Similar questions were searchingly examined from another point of view by several scholars of the University in Exile (5, 6). Beard and Beard (9) recently presented an analysis of democracy from the historical point of view, covering specifically the events of the last decade. The approach is historical, but "between the lines" the authors revealed themselves as protagonists for democracy in political and economic terms. Soule (107) also attacked this problem. His study is valuable chiefly for its analysis of a few phenomena of the immediate past, for its attack on *laissez faire*, and for the suggestion as to ways and means of advancing liberty for a larger number of persons.

Educators have not been lacking in their study of this basic issue. Bode (12) re-examined the procedure of democracy and concluded that it can be perpetuated only through the consideration and active participation of the individual citizens. The accomplishment of this objective he viewed as an educational problem. Some educators, however, are concerned as to the extent to which they and their profession can contribute. Beale (8) described at length various forces and agencies which work against freedom of teaching. He defended the usual liberal position in this issue. Counts (26) in a recent study examined, on the basis of a number of earlier documents, the concept of American democracy in the years of the founding fathers, including the concepts of equality and economic and social democracy, as well as political. Against this background he analyzed American democracy and its conflicts today and developed a balance sheet of liabilities and assets on the basis of which he sketched the task and responsibilities of education.

In a sense, the program features of the studies here listed are summarized from the educational point of view by the Educational Policies Commission (77), which reconsidered the function of educators in society.

Agencies of Communication *

Since communication is vital to a democracy and plays a large part in the extra-school education of children and adults, studies in this area are of unusual importance. Among the survey studies, we may note that a decrease in the number of country weekly newspapers between 1900 and 1930 was reported by Willey and Weinfeld (125). In the West, however, these papers have increased in number. Smith (104, 105) found substantial correlations (from .50 to .73) between educational status and the circula-

* This section was prepared by Charles C. Peters.

tion of national magazines. Correlations between educational status and circulation of daily newspapers were lower—from .28 to .36. Syrjamaki (111) found the Negro press highly racial in editorial and news attitudes. News resources were found only moderately well developed and advertising very poorly developed. Bird (11) studied the attitudes of five great newspapers on the causes and prevention of law breaking and found that "these newspapers lagged behind modern criminological thought on a score or more important points, and they expressed theories that have been archaic for more than seventy-five years." Gosnell and Schmidt (40) made an ingenious attempt to apply the multiple-factor analysis technic to a study of the content of newspapers on the theme of voting. They isolated, and attempted to name, four factors.

Is newspaper propaganda effective in changing the attitudes of its readers? Menefee (71) gave some evidence on that. He made measured comparisons of shift in labor versus antilabor attitudes as the result of reading newspaper propaganda in connection with the Pacific Northwest lumber strike in 1935. He found substantial differences between the groups subjected to the propagandist statements on the two sides, even when the source of the propaganda was known.

Lind (58) undertook to determine the motives which prompt children to read. She secured autobiographical statements from 44 adults recollecting their childhood experiences. She found that reading seemed to fall into four categories as to purpose: (a) serving the function of escape; (b) affording temporary diversion; (c) defining the reader's conception of his role; and (d) relating to objective interests and activities. The study dealt with a small sample and was intended primarily to be exploratory and to define the problem for further research. Inglis (48) raised the question whether fiction follows and reflects social change or precedes and promotes it. Based on heroines in 420 stories in the *Saturday Evening Post* between 1901 and 1935, she found fiction lagged behind social change in the pattern she investigated and hence expressed rather than created the change. Her procedure is suggested as a promising method of research.

Albig (1) studied the change in the content of radio programs from 1925 to 1935. He gave a detailed table on twenty-six topics by years with a winter and summer sample. Through the ten-year span music held a rather consistent place, taking about 70 percent of the time. String ensembles decreased from 10 to 4 percent; concert orchestras also decreased. Vocal programs and news reports about doubled their former allotment. Plays and readings increased from substantially zero to about 3 percent. Kirkpatrick (54) found that the lower social and economic classes spend somewhat more time listening to the radio than do the higher classes. In a study of the relation of intelligence to radio listening, using 127 University of Minnesota students as subjects, he found a correlation of zero between standings on a college aptitude test and time spent listening to the radio, and a correlation of $-.23$ between intelligence and time spent within hearing of a radio.

CHAPTER II

The Community and Its School¹

LLOYD A. COOK

THE FORMAL EDUCATION OF HUMAN BEINGS is conducted within institutions, usually schools. Just as education, in its inclusive institutional sense, is influenced by the broad social trends of our times, so the school as a local institution is inevitably involved in the situation of the community it serves. We shall, in the present chapter, treat the interrelationships between primary and secondary communities and the public school.

Education Viewed as a Social Institution

Institutions, as usually defined, are patterns or instruments for the satisfaction of human needs. Some, like the school, are "enacted," that is, deliberately invented and dated, whereas others are "crecive," the evolving product of a dimly known past. In either case, the institution originates in some "crisis" of group life, some breakdown of customary action, and passes through a cycle of historic change. Regardless of its specific nature (economic, religious, educational, etc.), it has a unique function or set of purposes, a structure of relationships, and a personnel of officers and participants. It has a universal aspect, yet it is in the main a locality pattern and hence is shaped by the demands and pressures of a particular environment.

In pursuit of these leads, sociologists and others have accumulated a literature (157) the size of which precludes brief summary even for any one major institution. For the school, such a summary is not necessary here, since much relevant research is contained in a 1937 issue of the *REVIEW* (184), and important aspects have been brought up to date in other chapters of the present number. Moreover, recent summaries of research have been made for the physical structure of the school (155), traits and behavior of pupil population (200), trends of curriculum change (177), and the like. These are phases of institutionalized education. Within the past few years, schools have moved toward more organic relationships with their communities, and it is this aspect of the whole with which we shall deal in the present chapter.

Communities and Regions

Krey (162), in a reflective analysis of small-town life, has shown that communities are neither self-contained nor unrelated to the past, and has warned against provincialism in community-centered education (161).

¹ Bibliography for this chapter begins on page 57.

Generalizing from existing case studies, Cook and Almack (142) broadened the community concept by defining community as (a) a population aggregate, (b) inhabiting a contiguous area, (c) possessing a heritage of common experiences, (d) having a set of basic service institutions, (e) conscious of a functional unity, and (f) able to act in a corporate capacity. From this point of view, county, state, and region are as truly communities as village, town, and city, although social relations are measurably more complex and impersonal. Moreover, this view permits a classification of communities into "local" and "nonlocal" (local being the first spatial area aside from the neighborhood which environs any point of reference such as one's home or school), and into "primary" and "secondary," depending on the degree of intimacy in person-to-person contacts and associations (140).

There has emerged as a community unit, the region, defined as "an area in which natural and demographic factors, plus historical circumstances, have contributed to the development of a homogeneous economic and social structure" (164:1-2). Odum (182) and Odum and Moore (183) defined and characterized five types of regions within the nation, with the "group of states" type the most useful for general purposes. National boards and committees (178, 179, 180) continue to provide new and significant summaries and analyses of the various kinds of regional resources, and Hanna and others (152) made an outstanding attempt to map, organize, and interpret these materials for educational uses. Their suggestions for building source units and for introducing regional materials into schools are somewhat novel, and attention should also be called to their extensive bibliography. Breakdowns of data by subregions (165, 171) have already brought much statistical material within the purview of county, state, and sectional associations of educators, and its use in planning seems imminent (193).

Local Community Surveys

With exception of Rural Resettlement² and Farm Security Administration brochures (144, 165), the most valuable and perhaps least known field studies of farm and village life have been issued by agricultural experiment stations. Two of these are illustrative. Thaden and Mumford (203) located, mapped, and described 553 Michigan high-school communities, and Stromberg (201) assessed changes following school consolidation in fifteen representative rural areas of the state. School villages had grown stronger on a number of indexes, while adjacent centers had declined. Trade basins had shifted slightly, but church, lodge, and Grange memberships were definitely altered.

Depression years have brought a decline of rural neighborhoods and the increasing use of village and town centers as the locale for rural educa-

² Absorbed September 1, 1937, by the Farm Security Administration.

tion as vital social units (138). Communities large and small have felt the strain of unemployment, the growth of governmental and welfare services, and the rise of new or accentuated institutional conflicts (168, 189). Shulman's survey (197) of 779 families in four Michigan "slum blocks" is atypical of pre- and post-depression findings in that no changes were observed in the basic life routines of "work, sleep, feeding, and breeding." Children were heirs, as ever, to an outmoded heritage of blind alley jobs, unsupervised leisure, delinquency patterns, and antischool attitudes.

More specialized community studies are so numerous as to make citation difficult. Schanck (194) analyzed the community and its institutions as the "behaviors of individuals," a viewpoint better demonstrated in the developing sociometry of community life as illustrated by the work of Moreno (172) and Lundberg and Lawsing (166) and better interpreted in volumes by Sherif (196) and Lynd (167).

Small towns may look alike but they differ in internal structure and in dominant values. This has been demonstrated in a new series of field studies (212), another contribution of which is an analysis of the strikingly different ways towns adjust to crises threatening their existence. Caste patterning of community life, for long a neglected subject, has been made known in two participant-observer studies of a Mississippi cotton-growing area (145, 185), with gains and losses to democratic education evaluated. Large-scale research has become commonplace, yet the sheer coverage of a now completed four-volume survey of public, commercial, and private recreation in Chicago (139) is remarkable. To facilitate local planning, basic data were broken down in the fourth volume for each of the city's 75 "community areas."

Of the remaining studies which should be reported, we shall comment on only three. One is Maller's sampling (170) of population trends in New York rural and urban communities, a work commendable for its methods as well as findings. One important finding is the necessity of reducing all data—national, regional, and state—to a locality basis if they are to be of use in community and school planning. For example, areas were found which reversed national and state trends in respect to long- and short-range increases or decreases of school enrolments, suggesting that a local community bears the same relation to state, region, or nation as a variable bears to a central tendency.

The second research is Thorndike's development and application of a scale for rating cities on general "goodness of life" (204), an initial step toward standardization of a device for measuring the differences known to exist between urban habitats as human environments. The third study is Mumford's interpretative account (175) of the growth of cities and their present and future status. At present, we are en masse "frustrated dwellers" in "insensate industrial towns" where there is "no art of communal living" and "no institution capable of uniting the people."

From Primary to Secondary Community

During the past decade, in particular, much evidence has accumulated to show our transition from primary to secondary modes of living. Apparently size of population, with inevitable correlates of density, heterogeneity, and mobility (207), gives point and pattern to the giant city, and with their steady increase the trend away from neighborliness has been accentuated (137). Institutions, adapted to rural habitats, are known by research findings (157) to function poorly in the city and the change has had profound effects on children and on schools (141). While there are almost no measures of the facts known about a community by its children, a recent test of "community knowledge" given to 3,500 pupils in nineteen New York state communities (206) yielded results which have been characterized as "disheartening." Other investigators have reported much the same results (186, 209).

School and Community Cooperation

It is generally recognized that the more specific aims of rural and urban education are different, yet little seems to have been done the nation over to adapt schools to environmental factors and conditions. For example, in one fairly typical survey of rural consolidated high schools (198), only 17 percent of the boys had had any training in agriculture—the occupation on which the communities largely depended, whereas about two-thirds of the girls had taken some work in homemaking. Factors conditioning school adaptability have been enumerated by Mort and Cornell (173) in a study of theoretical value, and effective ways of reorganizing schools in communities of 500 to 5,000 have been summarized for school administrators (131).

The emergent trend toward greater school and community cooperation is best seen in the development of community schools. From concrete case studies (143, 148), we may say that a school is a community school to the extent that it seeks to realize objectives such as the following: (a) educates youth for participation in basic areas of personal-social living—life activities, major problems of living, etc.; (b) democratizes personal and group contacts in school and outside; (c) uses community resources in the major aspects of its program; (d) cooperates with other agencies in improving community life, especially as it affects children; and (e) functions as a service center for youth and adult groups. Aside from research bearing on (c), experimental or other work in the field of community education is fragmentary, inconclusive, and often subjective.

Minor research attention has been paid to technics of cooperation between school and community groups (195) with sweeping claims made for beneficial results. A major form of cooperation is the community coordinating council, and Beam (135, 136) made two definitive surveys of their number, organization, functions, and life cycles. His first study

revealed 250 of these associations of school and nonschool agency and area representatives in 163 cities and towns in 20 states of the nation. Similar bodies in rural areas have originated from local farmer institutes (156), or from countywide associations stimulated by agricultural extension agents. Data on schools as service centers, as well as the values alleged for such typical activities as forums (192) and athletic events, are extremely variable and subject to errors of casual census taking.

Utilization of Community Resources

The use of community resources in schools has been extensively canvassed in a yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (176); in *Educational Method* for March 1939; and in *Progressive Education* for February 1938. These publications emphasize technics; the articles are descriptive and at times uncritical. One value of these materials, which is lost in more abstract analysis, is a view of the total school-community situation, and this in turn makes possible a contrast of actual versus potential uses of resources. Since schools of the same type and in identical habitats vary widely in their practices, it is evident that "resources" are never merely external environment. They are features of that environment as selected in the light of educational purpose, and hence their utilization reflects to a degree the working philosophy of the school.

Community resources comprise in theory the total educative objects, materials, and experiences found in any one, or all, of the communal areas environing a school; at the college level in particular the region has been used to advantage (140). One analysis of current practices (154) showed that resources consisted of (a) nature facts such as soils and minerals, plants and animals, (b) persons as population aggregates (races, socio-economic classes, etc.) and as occupational and social types, (c) farms, factories, shops, agencies, and institutions, (d) groups and institutions as patterns of associated living, and (e) ecological and other processes by which community structure is created, maintained, and changed.

Technics of study are suggested in the figurative phrases: taking the school into the community and bringing the community into the school. In general, practices embrace the making of trips, collecting of natural objects and cultural artifacts (205), interviewing community representatives, participating in social and civic activities (151), map-making and data-gathering via surveys, and the use of speakers in school programs (163). With one or two exceptions (132), few of these procedures have been evaluated in any objective sense.

Evaluating Outcomes from Community Experiences

In the final analysis, any approach to education will stand or fall in terms of its achievements. Experimenters in community education have departed from traditional aims and methods in many ways, but few of them have made conclusive evaluations of the work done.

Democratization of life has been investigated almost wholly in terms of end product, that is, democratic attitudes and actions, with little attention to process. Moreover, the tendency is to report product as an average of one kind or another, thus obscuring significant variations above and below the norm. A notable exception is the evaluation of a school trip (190) to be reviewed in another connection. While broad summary studies of appraisal methods are definitely "dated," the overviews by Wrightstone (210) and by the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association (187) are of basic importance. The first described teaching practices and measured learning outcomes in old and new schools under experimental conditions, and the second discussed the theory and illustrated the forms of various newer teaching and testing technics.

Learning outcomes are instanced in part by a trip taken by fifteen Lincoln School eleventh-grade students to certain eastern coal fields and steel industries (133). These pupils were selected as a representative sample of all students in a social studies course. After two and a half weeks of preparatory orientation, nine days were spent in the field, with five weeks of follow-up study to clarify experiences, find additional data, complete notebooks, write letters of appreciation, and speak at public meetings, etc. An outside expert was called in to plan an evaluation program, and among the forms used were pre- and end-tests of ninety-three paired attitude statements on such areas as democracy, government control, and unemployment. Table 1, adapted from a comprehensive statistical summary of findings

Table 1.—Attitude Changes of Field-Study Group, in Comparison with Scores of Home Group, as a Percent of Possible Change

All issues	Field-trip group		Home group
	Before (April 4, 1938)	After (May 26, 1938)	(May 26, 1938)
Liberalism.....	65	80	60
Conservatism.....	7	7	12
Uncertainty.....	24	13	28
Consistency.....	60	75	57

(190), shows median attitudes in the field-trip group before and after the project. It shows also that trip students averaged a gain of twenty points in liberalism over home-group students. In view of this and other evaluative data, it is evident that the first group underwent an educative experience, the efficacy of which is rightly called "impressive."

At the college level, equally significant learning outcomes have been

reported in systematic appraisals of preprofessional teacher education programs in Michigan (160) and at Ohio State University (159). The latter research in particular showed generally superior achievements for four classes of 151 students in a community-oriented course in comparison with similar groups in a traditional social problems course. Outstanding needs in this type of research are the more refined treatment of concomitant variables and the better isolation of extraneous influences.

Social Pressures Shaping Education

Schools, like other institutions, are part and parcel of a changing culture, and change does not occur on a broad, even front. It pushes ahead in some aspects of community life and lags behind in others, thus creating areas of tension in which reactionary forces are still strong, liberal influences are at work, and the general public undecided as to a course of action. Pressure groups arise to defend old loyalties or to champion new ones, and the nation's schools appear to offer a ready channel for the dissemination of their views.

Mort, Cornell, and Hinton (174), using an inquiry form of one hundred items on what schools should be and do, polled reactions of 1,673 parents and 1,546 teachers from twenty-three public school systems in Pennsylvania. Answers were scored in terms of willingness "to accept the implications of newer educational practices," and median ratings were: for teachers, 76; for parents, 64; for school administrators, 80; and for schoolboard members, 66. Prosser's more general study (188) of school and community groups showed even wider differences of opinion in respect to educational issues. Beale (134) listed scores of pressure groups in his chapters on war, peace, internationalism, patriotism, politics, economics, history, religion, and science. Raup (191) identified eighty-eight of the most active, and implied that there were many more. Not the least of his contributions were the charts and graphs devised for the study of any special-interest organization (191: 172, 194, 211). One value of such researches is a better understanding of propaganda technics; another is the increased sensitivity of school people concerning attempts to influence school policies.

Teacher's Out-of-School Life

Nonschool contacts of teachers apparently fall into three large categories: professional services, citizenship activities, and leisure pursuits. Case-study materials bearing on these topics are numerous, and factual surveys have been made by several researchers (142, 158, 169, 202). Most suggestive is the work of Greenhoe (149), of which only a descriptive summary has been published (150). Questionnaires were returned from 9,122 teachers selected as a national sample, 3,054 students in training to be teachers, 2,095 lay persons representative of three communities, and 356 Ohio schoolboard members. Findings were reported on teacher backgrounds, tradition

of teaching, mobility, social fitness for teaching, reactions to community conduct codes, participation in community life, and membership in professional associations. Total results were interpreted by reference to the sociology of "the stranger" (208), and proposals were made to facilitate teacher adjustment.

To determine attitudes on "social fitness" for teaching, a number of descriptions of teacher applicant types were submitted to the above groups for rating on the question: ". . . should these persons be employed to teach in the public schools of your community?" Employability quotients were found to be extremely variable. For example, schoolboard members were strongly opposed (-32.1) to the employment of a married woman in the schools, lay persons less negative (-12.0), teachers themselves strongly favorable (36.5), and education students less favorable (12.4). In general, schoolboard members were least "liberal," lay persons next, teachers third, and students last. This rank order was typical of all findings (142). Of the 6,062 elementary teachers, 49 percent reported a habitual acceptance of the conduct codes in the community where they taught, 10 percent rebelled against these codes, 4 percent evaded them, and 16 percent attempted to educate the community to greater tolerance respecting teacher behavior. In general, the smaller the community the more adaptive and complacent its teachers were found to be.

Socio-Economic Attitudes of Teachers

Whether or not teachers should endeavor to influence the course of social change is a debatable issue and, in one sense, an academic one, for their teaching must in any case have some effect on pupil ideals and actions. Studies of teacher beliefs and attitudes therefore are significant because communities seek to perpetuate themselves by transmitting to children localized versions of the nation's culture, and teachers may or may not further this purpose.

Among the attitude studies reported (134, 158, 199), the 1936 survey of 4,000 secondary teachers and the 1937 investigation of 10,000 elementary teachers by Hartmann are most comprehensive. Generalizing for this national sample (153), his most important conclusions were: (a) high-school instructors were more liberal and better informed on factual matters than grade school teachers; (b) teacher attitude profile was in general one of "confused good intentions and contradictory loyalties; (c) a correlation of .40 between attitudes toward and knowledge about socio-economic issues indicated that scholarly teachers were more likely to be progressive in their views, and vice versa; and (d) the most liberal and the best informed instructors, clustered in Rocky Mountain and Pacific states and the least liberal in New England and the South. New England teachers varied somewhat from this pattern in respect to information, being characterized as "well-informed conservatives."

Conclusions

Presumably, students will continue to rely on the survey as a method of community study; at least there is no tendency toward general use of the newer technics now available (147, 211). Newell (181) found, in a study covering the past thirty-five years, that (a) change had occurred from general surveys to those dealing with specific interests and problems, and (b) until lately, little use had been made of findings by educators. With the trend now toward greater school participation in local and nonlocal life, one may hazard the opinion that community data will be increasingly used for the enrichment of the curriculum, the development of guidance programs, improvement of public relations, and school-community planning for child and adult living. Familiarity with the inevitable lag between theory and practice (146) does not leave one unduly optimistic concerning the speed of purposive educational change.

CHAPTER III

The Individual and His Environment¹

CHARLES C. PETERS

HOWEVER MUCH EDUCATION MAY BE INFLUENCED by great social trends, it must always deal with human beings. Personality is the basic material with which teachers work whether children, youth, or adults be concerned. The most significant research in the last few years relating to children does not lie directly in the field of sociology, but carries strong socio-educational implications which spring from psychological technics.

Influence of Favorable Environment on the IQ

One of the startling revelations of recent years has been the extent to which the IQ's of children can be affected by a favorable environment. The older studies of the relative effects of nature and nurture (240) showed that the IQ of children could be appreciably affected by the kind of home in which they were brought up. But investigations at the University of Iowa have since revealed much greater effects than had hitherto been suspected. Wellman (259) found that children made gains in IQ during the months of attendance at the preschool laboratory of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station but not during the months of nonattendance. For example, over a six months' period of attendance, seventy-three children made a mean gain of 17 percentile points, while over the summer months when not attending they lost one point. Over a second year of attendance they gained a further eight percentile points, making a total gain of 24. Other groups showed similar results. The gain was greatest in the case of those with the lowest initial IQ's. Coffey and Wellman (216) found the gains in IQ from attendance at the laboratory to be uncorrelated with the educational and occupational status of the parents and to be independent of sex and age. Wellman and Stoddard (258) stressed the importance of early improvement by a stimulating environment, because the effect may be expected to be cumulative through the critical period of schooling. But, on the other side, questions have been raised by Lamson (230).

Skodak (251) found that the mental level of foster children placed under six months of age was above the level of expectation judging from the data available for the true parents. Crissey (220) followed children who had been shifted from state orphanages to schools for the feeble-minded and observed a cumulative loss of IQ with long residence in an institution. Skeels, Updegraff, and William (250) followed for three years the effects of preschool education introduced into the lives of underprivileged children. The experimental group moved toward normality in intelligence and

¹ Bibliography for this chapter begins on page 60.

the controls dropped toward borderline classifications or high-grade feeble-mindedness.

Environment and Social Development

Doll and McKay (222), applying the recently developed Vineland Social Maturity Scale, compared the social competency of thirty-eight children of low intelligence from three special classes with pupils from an institution, paired with them on IQ. He found the special-class pupils much superior in social age, the mean being 9.4 against 7.0 and the SQ 78 against 57. He found that the subnormal, not feeble-minded, may be much more nearly normal in social age than in mental age, and that social age may be greatly influenced by environment as shown by the contrast between the special-class pupils and the institutional cases.

Influence of Environment upon Success

The well-established generalization that a favorable environment is a large factor in success in life received further confirmation in several researches during the period covered by this review. Winston (261) examined the biographies of 372 inventors, four-fifths of whom were born since 1800, and found that favorable environmental factors were nearly always present. The occupations of their fathers showed that they came from above average economic status. Schneider (249), studying a random sample of 13,551 biographies from the *Dictionary of National Biography* (persons born between 1400 and 1850), found that "there is a definite tendency for persons born into an occupational or professional group in which it is also possible to become famous to achieve distinction in that occupation or some closely allied activity." From a similar study of eminent botanists, he (248) found that it is the cultural situation, not breed, which produces famous men.

Investigations have regularly shown a moderately high positive correlation between the economic and occupational level of parents and the intelligence quotients or school success of children. The following two studies further confirm this finding. Springer (253) found that children of middle-class families in a good residential district were superior in behavior as rated on the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale to children from an economically and socially poor neighborhood, the differences ranging from 2 to 7 times their standard errors on the several rating schedules. Lang (231) found high correlations between social-economic status and certain other factors including educational status. For example, the partial correlation between educational status and percent of whites in the census tracts, with economic status held constant, was .57, while the partial correlation between fertility rate and educational status was -.54.

Surveys of Youth Out of School

Under the sponsorship of the American Youth Commission a number of studies have been made of the characteristics and needs of youth in our

present social and economic situation. One of these, directed by the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Instruction, was by Updegraff (256). The sample included about 12 percent of the youth living in the state in 1930 of a single year age level, taken from the sixth- and eighth-grade school rolls from forty-seven counties as those rolls stood in 1930. Of the 23,166 included in the whole study, a more detailed investigation was made of 6,059. Intelligence and educational achievement test data, and social-economic data, and data on out-of-school experience were secured regarding these; also ratings on six character traits were made by their former classmates. Updegraff then undertook, on the basis of these several kinds of data, to reduce patterns according to which the youth could be grouped into fifty-nine types which, taken together, form a regular system. The basis of the classification was, first, a division into potential leaders and followers on the basis of the evidence from intelligence and educational data and, second, subdivision on the basis of constructive, indifferent, or destructive tendencies suggested by character traits. The percents belonging to each type are shown and some suggestions of educational policy are presented.

Van Buskirk, Hanks, and Carter (257) made a study of out-of-school youth in Pennsylvania sixteen and seventeen years of age. This is a statistical study of reasons for leaving school, nature of employment—if any, wages, conditions of work, and leisure-time activities. It includes also a number of very brief case descriptions.

Cressman (219) made a thorough investigation of the out-of-school activities of 2,000 junior high-school pupils in Philadelphia. From checklists he ascertained the intensity of their participation in forty-four activities and computed correlations between participation in each of these activities and intelligence and economic status. These tables of tetra-choric correlation coefficients reveal some interesting facts about environmental limitations on recreational activities. The evidence from the checklist was supplemented by evidence from diaries kept by pupils, upon which a showing is made of the time spent in each of sixty activities by boys and girls according to intelligence and economic levels. He also studied in detail the pupils' reading habits and preferences and their hobbies. The report is so rich in detail that it cannot be appropriately summarized here.

The best publicized and best written study of the American Youth Commission is by Bell (213), which dealt with materials gathered in interviews with 13,500 Maryland youth as to their life at home, in school, at work and play, their relations to the church, and their attitudes. Lister and Kirkpatrick (233) reported on the rural data of the same study in greater detail than was possible in the basic report.

There have been several score of studies on the problems and interests of rural youth by the state colleges of agriculture. The most complete of these studies is that by the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University which appeared in five bulletins. All these are summarized in

Melvin and Smith's inclusive but pessimistic study (237). The study covers the economic and educational status of youth, marriage, and uses of leisure time. A companion volume (236) analyzed the relief situation as related to the rural youth group. All of these studies, which involved interviewing youth, record four basic needs or desires on the part of rural youth, namely, for economic security, jobs; more education, "but none of the same"; better organization of social life; and more guidance with respect to home and family life, especially with a view to marriage.

Factors in Adjustment and Delinquency

Reuter (244) urged the development of a more scientifically grounded sociology of adolescence and suggested life history documents and past personal letters as bases. Symonds (254) undertook to ascertain whether unhappy students have different problems and interests from happy ones, and found that they do not. The two classes were remarkably alike in their problems and interests, the only difference being that the unhappy students make less satisfactory adjustments to their problems. Block (215) studied the conflicts of adolescents with their mothers. She had 528 junior and senior high-school boys and girls check a list of fifty items of possible conflict. Many arose out of "nagging" about appearance, cleanliness, table manners, etc.; but 50 percent of the boys and 82 percent of the girls objected because mothers insist "that I take my sister or brother wherever I go," and a still larger percent because she "won't let me use the car."

Physical as well as social factors are found to affect personal and social adjustment. McKinney (234) selected by interview a group of maladjusted students and a group of well-adjusted students, then secured quantitative measures on forty-one different traits for the two groups. The differences revealed are plausible ones and prevailing show the possession of more desirable social, intellectual, and physical traits by the well adjusted. Rosenbaum (246) found crippled girls much more maladjusted emotionally than normal ones. On the other hand, Hardy (225) found an inverse relation between health history and behavior adjustments during childhood, the well adjusted having been more subject to diseases than the poorly adjusted. The trend was consistent but not highly significant statistically. Meyering (239), investigating the behavior problems arising in a camping situation, found the boys with a physical rating of "poor" gave rise to more problems involving indifference, homesickness, and temper tantrums, while the more robust ones were frequently bullies, disturbers, and defiant of discipline.

Hill (226) compared delinquents and nondelinquents on fifty-five items and found highly significant differences between the groups on many. He concluded that the causal factors for delinquency tend to occur in configurations rather than simply. Home conditions, school success, school citizenship, and social habits played up as very important factors in de-

linquency. Durea (223) found juvenile delinquents emotionally retarded, age for age, as compared with norms. Crook (217) tested and refuted the hypothesis that partners in delinquency, especially sex delinquency, are exogenous in relation, finding instead that prevailingly they are surrounded by the same culture.

Ideals, Attitudes, and Moral Concepts

There have been a number of studies attempting to investigate the ideals and attitudes of adolescents. Mather (235) studied, by questionnaire, the courtship ideals of high-school youth. Girls ranked "real brains" first as desirable in partners in courtship, "good looks" at the middle, and "spends money freely" in twenty-second place. The author estimates the attitudes as "comparatively noncritical." Bernard (214) ascertained from nine hundred students at the University of Colorado that 88 percent of both sexes felt that sex is not the most important factor in life, and 67 percent thought it not the most important factor in marriage. Sixty-two percent of the women wanted marriage and only 5 percent wanted a career, though 33 percent wanted both. Eighty-nine percent of the males wanted intelligence in the wife equal to their own, but 58 percent of the females wanted their mates to have intelligence superior to their own.

Pullias (243) sounded the information of seventy-five Duke University men about the effects of masturbation. Eighty-three percent believed that some sort of serious damage results from masturbation; 44 percent thought there was a serious physical damage. Only 7 percent believed there was no serious damage unless the practice was carried to excess. Fifty-two percent had been told that masturbation is a direct cause of insanity and 16 percent believed this.

Whitlow (260) asked 603 students in a six-year high school to check five of twenty-six offenses they considered the worst, then check five which they most frequently commit. The items named most frequently as worst were stealing, drinking, and lying. Those committed most frequently were swearing, disobedience, and lying. The correlation between attitude markings and behavior was $-.07$ for boys and $-.44$ for girls. Boys and girls agreed as to proper attitudes to the extent of $r = .85$; on behavior the correlation was $.74$. Johnson (227) compared the moral attitudes of white and Negro students using as subjects 99 Negroes and 240 whites from the upper high-school grades. He found Negroes and whites remarkably alike, the rankings of 15 items correlating $.86$ between the two races. Sex differences in both races were insignificant.

Factors Influencing Attitudes

Menefee (238) studied the effect of stereotyped words on the political judgments of 742 university, high-school, and night school students, and

professional people. He submitted to them sixteen statements on political issues to be checked for agreement or disagreement. Then stereotyped words such as communism, fascism, and patriotism were added as purported descriptions of the positions embodied in the propositions and the opinionnaire was again marked twenty-eight days after the first marking. There were shifts at the second marking as great as 32 percent in the expected direction. Kirkendall (228) had teachers college students respond to a questionnaire on the sources influencing their attitudes toward peace and war. The most frequently mentioned influence was persons who served in the World War and the second most important was books on and about war. The church stood at the eleventh rank and high-school teachers in twelfth place.

Studies indicate that adolescents still entertain many superstitions. Ter Keurst (255) submitted a list of 92 superstitions to 663 high-school pupils, including white and colored students of both sexes. He found both sexes and both races holding many superstitions, but the Negro children held many more than the whites. There were no significant sex differences and, strangely, "the incidence of acceptance did not decline with chronological age or scholastic advances." Zapf (262) also found superstitions prevalent among boys and girls.

Social Distance

Dodd (221) studied the problem of social distance by the Thurstone type of scale. He concluded that social distance is not determined by geographical proximity nor by abundance of contacts as much as by definite acts of a benevolent or malevolent sort between groups. They arise, that is, out of cooperation or conflict. Runner (247) made a reasonably successful attempt to apply the type of method suggested by Reuter (244) to the investigation of social distance in adolescent relationships.

Lapiere (232) compared the expressed attitude on social distance toward the Chinese with actual behavior in face to face situations. He accompanied a refined Chinese couple to 67 hotels, auto camps, and tourist houses. The couple was refused at only one of these. They were served at 184 restaurants and were treated with more than ordinary courtesy in 72 of them. Out of 251 stores, there appeared evidence of discrimination in only one. Yet, in response on a social distance scale, 92 percent of these same hotel and restaurant managers said they would *not* receive a Chinese as a guest, and none said he would. The author concluded that it is the person, not the race, on which people act in practice.

Other Studies of Validity of Self-Testimony

The last mentioned study throws light on the validity of expressed attitudes as indicators of behavior. Several other studies may be cited on this point. Corey (218) gave sixty-seven university students an opportunity to

mark an attitude scale of the Thurstone type regarding cheating, then measured the amount of actual cheating by these same students when they scored their own examination papers. The coefficient of correlation between professed attitudes and actual amount of cheating was only .03.

Krupa (229) compared self-testimony on the Bernreuter, Bell, and Link personality inventories with associates' observation of the corresponding traits on a "guess-who" test and found correlations ranging from near zero to about .50 and averaging about .25 or .30. All these evidences indicate rather low validity for the self-testimony type of inventory. Pace (241) found marked improvement in the self-testimony type of response from describing in fairly lengthy paragraphs situations to which the respondent is asked to declare his practice or his attitude. Scores thus secured give good discrimination between groups known to be different, and good correlations with scores on other instruments which would be expected to measure the same traits—both of which findings are suggestive of good validity in the testing instrument. Rosander (245) did the same sort of thing with similar results.

CHAPTER IV

The Curriculum and Social Values¹

CHARLES C. PETERS

Inductive Studies of Social Value

DALE (267) UTILIZED CHILDREN'S QUESTIONS as bases for a suggested program of health education in Ohio. Twenty-seven hundred questions asked by pupils regarding health problems were recorded. These were classified and made a part basis for the content of a state course of study on health. As a test of the validity of the questions as indexes of social needs, 120 of them were ranked by 20 health experts for probable interest to pupils generally, and also ranked by eighth- and ninth-grade pupils. The averages from the rankings by the experts correlated with those from the eighth-grade pupils .42 and with those of the ninth-grade pupils .45. Dale was convinced that the evidence from such questions is of great value in curriculum construction. Boyer (265) applied to the field of analytic geometry the technic used earlier by Wray in chemistry and by a number of other research workers at Pennsylvania State College. He submitted to five groups of teachers a list of 85 propositions from analytic geometry, getting from them checkmarks to indicate the frequency with which each had come into the respondent's experience and the advantage of knowing it when it did come in. Social utility indexes were then determined by multiplying the medium score for frequency by the median for advantage in the case of each item and each group of respondents. High reliability coefficients, and evidences of high validity, were secured by Boyer, as similar ones have been obtained by others who have previously employed this technic. Gillson (272) employed a simplified form of this same technic in determining values in chemistry. In this case, relative value indexes were computed for men and for women, and the sex differences were tested for statistical significance. Cognizance was also taken of free expressions, of the content of some essays on the value of chemistry, of a *Good Housekeeping* "question box," and of certain "deliberative" considerations. This effort to supplement the purely statistical findings by less tangible ones is worthy of attention.

Large Problem Areas

Symonds (282, 283, 284) drew up a list of fifteen areas of life problems and had them ranked for problems and for interests by 111 adult women, 73 men, and 1,641 adolescents. For adults the most important problems were a philosophy of life and mental and physical health, while the greatest interests were philosophy of life, mental health, character, and civic affairs. For adolescents the most important problems were money, health, and

¹ Bibliography for this chapter begins on page 62.

personal attractiveness, while the least important were sex adjustment, daily schedule, and civic responsibilities. Interests and problems were found not to be specialized as to geographical location.

Frederick (270, 271), as a basis for curriculum reconstruction in Mississippi, examined 38 classifications of human activities to ascertain what they had in common, reduced them to nine areas, under which he classified 349 social problems found in 54 recent books, bulletins, and courses of study, arranged by frequency as an indication of importance. The problems encountered in these sources were then allocated, for course of study purposes, to grade levels according to criteria of pupil interests and abilities to understand. The nine areas set up by Frederick were: (a) protecting life and health, (b) making a home, (c) conserving and improving material conditions, (d) cooperating in social and civic action, (e) getting a living, (f) securing an education, (g) expressing religious impulses, (h) expressing esthetic impulses, and (i) engaging in recreation.

Composite Approaches to Curriculum Making

The researches reviewed so far continue the temper of hundreds of investigations made during the past twenty-five years to determine inductively the detailed social needs which the curriculum should attempt to meet. But the emphasis during the three-year period under review has shifted to a more general and comprehensive procedure which has of necessity been less statistically controlled. The procedure here referred to has in the past been called philosophical, but the more apt term "deliberative" is now being used for it in some quarters. An outstanding example of this argumentative and descriptive procedure is the third yearbook of the John Dewey Society, *Democracy and the Curriculum* (275). Here is set forth an account of the present social scene and a point of view regarding the obligation of the school to the improvement of the social order. The proper character of the curriculum is further argued from considerations of the nature of learning, and accounts are given of examples of "progressive" curriculums. The technic of describing concrete examples of effective schools has been carried further by a series of volumes published under the sponsorship of the Society for Curriculum Study and published by the D. Appleton-Century Company. The *Journal of Educational Sociology* devoted an issue to character education programs in several communities (263).

The type of writing referred to is, of course, promotion rather than scientific research. It is, nevertheless, essential for the purpose of setting up large hypotheses to the evaluation of which the more precise technics of scientific research may later be applied.

Between the detailed inductive studies and such very general ones as those just described, there have appeared during the period under review some investigations which are large enough in scope to furnish the bases for whole courses of study and yet remain reasonably objective in character. Perhaps the most representative of these is a recent one by Boyer (264)

to get a basis for a course in general mathematics for teachers colleges which would maximally meet the social needs of school teachers. The bases for his selection of content were: (a) a review of the findings from previous studies which listed the social uses of mathematics; (b) a listing of the topics recommended in twelve committee reports on the teaching of mathematics; (c) analysis of 101 articles on mathematics in 22 popular or semi-scientific journals to discover the mathematical terms and topics they contained and which readers would need to be prepared to understand in order to read the articles intelligently; (d) analysis of twelve recent texts relating to general mathematics to learn to which topics they allotted their space; and (e) submission of a list of 25 proposed units to teachers in ten different fields, and to curriculum experts in 16 different types of situations, securing from them ratings on the desirability of each unit on a five-point scale. One hundred and eighty-seven of the former and 374 of the latter replied. Guided by all these evidences, Boyer then selected fifteen units with subphases, showing the demand for each in terms of the five criteria. The very high reliability coefficients, and the high intergroup correlations, persuasively argue the validity of the ratings secured by him.

Another project in the same temper is by Henderson (273). Her task was to determine where to place emphasis in a curriculum to serve a mountain district in the South—the Hurricane Magisterial District of Buchanan County, Virginia. She made personal visits to each of the eighteen schools of the district, visited the homes, examined the pupil records, and tabulated the population and occupational statistics of the community. On the basis of the impressions obtained from these data, Henderson listed sixty-seven aims to be stressed, formulated nine guiding principles, and made a chart of scope and sequence. Her technic could not be described as quantitatively controlled. She said: "The pupil records, the home records given by parents, the community and school surveys, the case studies, the county records, and the experiences which I have had in Detroit determine the . . . aims suggested for emphasis."

It may as well be recognized by curriculum makers who desire to be scientific that whole curriculums cannot be formulated on the basis of such detailed inductive studies as those mentioned at the opening of this chapter. Certain areas of social needs can be dealt with satisfactorily but others cannot be approached statistically by any technic yet discovered. Practical curriculum making must jump beyond the evidence from the statistical studies in order to fill in the gaps. The works by Boyer and by Henderson make this leap. It is a necessary leap but a dangerous one, for bias and wishful thinking can easily enter to warp the outcomes. In holding this bold adventure under the restraint of controlled induction, Boyer seems to the reviewer to have succeeded better than Henderson.

Transfer Values of Instruction

Does formal education influence behavior in life situations? There have been some efforts during the period under review to get evidence on that

question. Connor and others (266) contrasted an elementary school in which health competency, character, and good school citizenship were made definite objectives, and a purposive curriculum was directed toward their realization, with a conventional school. They found a constant tendency for the experimental school pupils to exceed those of the conventional school in desirable health habits, character, and school conduct. The differences were not, however, great. In a controlled experiment, Zapf (286) found that the regular science work of the junior high school seemed to have no effect in reducing superstitious beliefs among the pupils, but science instruction directed specifically toward that end had a pronounced positive effect. Knower (278), experimenting with a group of 607 students in contrast with a control group of 300, found that oral arguments against certain attitudes changed those attitudes in the case of the students who heard them as measured by attitude tests. Written arguments were also effective, producing effects from 75 to 85 percent as great as those produced by oral arguments. Kirkendall (277) measured the attitude toward war on the part of 75 teachers college students who attended an antiwar lecture by Gerald P. Nye in comparison with 105 students who did not attend the lecture, using the Thurstone-Droba scale. For one group of 38 of those who attended the lecture, he found a mean change greater by .62 in the direction of antiwar attitude than in the control group, and for the other 37 the difference was .23. These are small and individually unreliable differences, but they both point in the same direction. Hirschman (274) made a similar contrast using as the experimental factor the reading of antiwar books. She used six sets of paired experimental and control groups. She found significant difference in mean change of attitude between experimental and control groups. This parallels the earlier findings of Thurstone regarding the effect of motion pictures on attitude.

In contrast with these evidences of effectiveness of instruction when directed specifically toward definite objectives are some investigations which reveal little carry-over from school to life where the efforts are merely general and diffuse. Wilson (285) tested the beliefs of students by twenty-five statements before they read a set of iconoclastic books from classical writers in an English class and again after reading the books. There was no effort at indoctrination, the books being read merely as examples of good literature. Wilson found no appreciable shift in the opinions of the students toward conformity with the opinions of the authors. Jones (276) found that the changes toward liberalism were very small during students' four-year college course. The gain was a little larger for social science majors than for others, but the difference was slight. Rankin (280) ascertained, from records and from interviews, what had become of six hundred tenth-graders eleven years later—how they had fared vocationally, on what bases they decided for whom to vote, what they liked to see or do in spare time, etc. Interviewers rated a sample of them as to competency in vocation, recreation, home and social life, and citizenship. The reports indicated fairly, but far from completely, satisfactory lives. The interviewers rated

68 percent as having moderate success or better in vocation but only 38 percent as moderately successful or better in citizenship. The Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards (268, 269) has made an extensive investigation of the adequacy of American secondary schools from the standpoint of alignment with social needs. It employed in part pupil estimates and estimates by parents, but principally it utilized self-inventorying by teachers and administrators, and evaluation by visiting committees, on an elaborate set of criteria. In spite of the checklist, the ratings cannot be expected to be uniform as between different systems, since much room is left for subjective evaluation. The most useful outcome from the study will be its influence rather than objective evaluation. The value to school systems from having teachers and administrators face the list of criteria defining a good secondary school is so great as to give promise that the effect of the study will be momentous in bringing about a more socially functioning secondary-school program.

All of the studies reviewed in this section tend to give further confirmation to the overwhelming evidence from earlier investigations that efforts at training are likely to be effective when directed specifically toward clearly defined objectives but relatively ineffective when not so directed. The last chapter of this issue continues the discussion of this topic.

Shaping Attitudes and Opinions

Aside from the school curriculum many factors inside and outside the school contribute toward shaping the character of youth. Manske (279) investigated the extent to which the attitudes of teachers are reflected in the attitudes of their pupils. Ten nonindoctrinating lessons on the Negro were taught to sixteen classes by teachers differing in the degree of their liberalism toward that race. Most of the classes became more liberal toward the Negro as the work proceeded regardless of the liberalism of the teacher. There was little certain evidence that teachers influenced pupils in the direction of their own attitudes, although there was some evidence that teachers who believed it their duty to indoctrinate influenced their pupils toward conforming to their views. Smith (281) had high-school seniors, parents, high-school teachers, and university professors mark an opinionnaire on some propositions regarding industry, the state, the church, personal morality, the family, and the school. He found the opinions of the children to correlate highly with those of parents, fairly highly with those of teachers and moderately with those of the professors. But the partial correlation with the total liberalism score was .61 between children and parents with the other two held constant, .12 between children and teachers, and .01 between children and professors. It seems from these partial correlations that, of the three groups, the parents' opinions affected the children far more than did the teachers' opinions; indeed, the teachers seem, from this evidence, to be affecting the children very little.

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CHAPTER V

Educating the Adult Community¹

WILBUR C. HALLENBECK

WHEN THE DEPRESSION came a gradual and stable development of adult education was well under way. This was largely stopped by depression conditions, but the Federal Emergency Program under the WPA was superimposed, resulting in a mushroom growth on a temporary basis. Under these circumstances, research on fundamental adult education problems has been limited, probably because of the energy involved in taking care of immediate problems of organization and program and the necessity of studying smaller local problems. There has been much of the latter type of research, but it is, for the most part, unpublished and unavailable. So far as possible, the references here given are selected in the light of general value in connection with basic adult education problems.

A general analysis and appraisal of the Works Progress Administration program was presented as one volume of the studies of the Advisory Committee on Education (298) as background for the consideration of federal aid to adult education. Another volume in this series, by Joeckel (327), dealt with libraries on a similar basis. A number of studies have reported the extent of adult education (301, 346, 350); the trends of rural adult education in the depression (295); the development of the arts in rural America (342). There was a study of the New York state program by Reeves, Fansler, and Houle (344) as a part of the Regents' Inquiry; and of the program of Delaware, by Burnett and Hopkins (296). In particular communities adult education has been given attention from various points of view; for example, a general picture of adult education in a metropolis as seen from the vantage point of an adult education council (340); as revealed in a series of small researches on discrete problems in the same city (289, 310, 341, 343, 345, 346, 348, 356); a program in a smaller community (312); and facilities for adult education in small towns (347). A number of important studies of adult education in foreign countries have been published: Mexico (351), Denmark (306), Switzerland (336), Sweden (338), and Nova Scotia (304).

The Clientele of Adult Education

Research in the field of adult learning has progressed since Thorndike's beginning (360) and his study of adult interests (359); for example, adult intelligence (365), adult abilities (357), college aptitudes of adult students (335), and life problems and interests of adults and their relative significance (358). The most extensive work has been in the continuation of Thorndike's research by Lorge, only partly published (330) and implica-

¹ Bibliography for this chapter begins on page 63.

tions drawn (331, 332). The clientele of adult education has been subjected to some study: the consumers of adult education in the program of the Workers' Education Association in England (366); a sample study of New York consumers (362); a study of a large number of students in the emergency program in New York (356); in connection with service of libraries, age and sex of library users in New York, and the books they read have been analyzed (321); participants in home-study courses under a large university (355); the enrollees in private correspondence schools (329); a study of readers and the libraries which serve them in New York state (364).

Adult Reading and Curriculum Materials

Reading as an aspect of adult education has been studied by the Chicago Library School group as part of their research program in the area of adult education in libraries: reading abilities of adults, by Buswell (297), and changes in reading habits, by Waples (363). The distribution of libraries was reported on by Wilson (367). Several studies in curriculum and materials for adults have been published: M. C. Lyon (333) attempted to discover what sort of reading material appeals most strongly to persons who have done little serious reading; Chancellor (302) studied the availability of reading material usable with native-born adult illiterates and near illiterates. R. M. Lyon's study (334) sought to show how curriculum material can be based upon shortages in the social setting of particular groups of people. Hendrickson (322) made an appraisal of adult education courses of study.

The National Council for Parent Education in 1934 published an analysis of the field of parent education from the viewpoint of research in which the important questions in the field were raised and summaries of the various researches already made were integrated (369). This is a good illustration of a practical presentation of related researches.

Guidance and Administrative Problems

One of the most fundamental problems of adult education is the guidance of adults. During the earlier years of the depression, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, an extensive experiment in adult guidance was carried on in New York City. This experiment was analyzed and appraised in a series of booklets after its completion which made available the results of the experiment (290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 305, 311, 317, 318, 319, 320, 352). Another problem of basic significance is how to extend adult education to meet community needs in spite of limited resources. A very suggestive consideration of the problem is found in an analysis of the use of volunteer leadership in parent education (353). Inasmuch as discussion is one of the chief methods of adult education the attempt to measure its influence on participants (354) is important.

Many agencies engaged in adult education have had their programs studied from various points of view: the results of social planning for the integration of library service in community life (303); a study of a specially subsidized county library service in the South (368); church group activities for young married people (313); the adult education programs in a representative sample of New York churches (314); adult education functions and program in the Catholic church (337); programs of education for the young men in CCC camps (315). Additional general studies of activities in various agencies are referred to in the next group.

Appraisal by the American Association for Adult Education

At the close of its first ten years of existence, during which time its program was given up in large part to the extension and development of adult education, the American Association for Adult Education embarked on a new program given over chiefly to an evaluation of adult education under different auspices. Qualified people were selected for the studies, extensive field work was planned and carried out and a great amount of data collected. The methods used were primarily observational and case-study technics. No attempt was made to compile and analyze statistical data. Each report was rather an effort to give a fair picture of the more progressive programs and to interpret them in the light of their social significance. Sixteen of these reports have appeared to date dealing with: educational programs on the radio (324); forums under various auspices (308); the education programs in business and industrial organizations (349); the educational values that can be derived by the ordinary adult citizen from the existence and functioning of metropolitan museums (287); the uses and programs of adult education in social settlements (316); the community developments of music (361); education programs in women's clubs (309); educational programs in men's clubs (325); public libraries as people's universities (328); development of adult education under public school auspices (307); parent education in its many forms and organizational relationships (299); dramatics as adult education experience (300); the activities of libraries in rural America (326); the types of museum activities that touch on the diffusion of learning among the adult population (288); health education for adults (323); adult education as a realized function of churches (339). In this connection we should mention again the volume by Campbell, Bair, and Harvey (298), and the study by Hendrickson (322).

CHAPTER VI

The Social Effectiveness of Education

HAROLD F. CLARK, with the assistance
of DONALD R. TOBEY and OMAR PANCOAST

THE SCHOOL in its interaction with the community, and education in its interaction with the national social scene, seek to contribute to the insights and habits of our people in demonstrable ways. We shall here review literature which attempts to determine the contributions of public education in some of the commonplace areas of daily living. Has education helped us build better houses or grow better crops? Has it brought us, singly or as a group, more goods and services to make life comfortable? Are we stronger and healthier because of our schools? The American public school system represents a greater capital investment, employs more workers, and spends more money every year than any other governmental enterprise. We have had innumerable statements of commendable aims and objectives of education. We should occasionally attempt to check on the returns from this investment in terms of observable results.

Education and Individual Income

Practical-minded Americans were early convinced that schooling was an aid in increasing the incomes of those who received it. Earlier studies in this area invariably showed incomes increasing with education, but investigators failed to allow for contributing factors such as native ability, family connections, and status. Gorseline (401) attempted by selection to eliminate extraneous factors. He studied 185 pairs of brothers, all white, Indiana residents or previously so, all employed in gainful occupations during 1927. With an average difference of 3.5 school grades between the two groups, the modal annual income of the group having more schooling was \$350 above that of the other group. There is, of course, still a question as to whether there was some natural selection, the brothers with more ability continuing their schooling longer.

A high correlation between grade attainment and employment in higher paid types of jobs was found by Bell (377). Seventy-seven percent of elementary-school graduates were in semiskilled, unskilled, and domestic-personal fields, 82 percent of the college graduates in professional-technical or office-sales work. Of all youth questioned, over one-half rated their education as of considerable or great economic value. A study of employment and income of Purdue University graduates for 1928-1934 (392) indicated that the percent employed and incomes received were generally above national averages for 1934. Usual errors attributable to data on income and employment secured by questionnaire should be considered.

¹ Bibliography for this chapter begins on page 67.

Newman (442) found farmers trained in vocational agriculture earning an average of 168 percent of the incomes of nonvocationally trained farmers, a difference of \$311 yearly in weighted average labor income. Farmers studied were equated as closely as possible according to location in farming areas, types of farming, race and nationality, health and physical condition, age, years completed in high school, average grade on all high-school subjects, years of farming experience since leaving school, size of farm, acres cultivated, status, and average total capital invested. The data seem to have been secured and utilized with care and judgment. Raskopf (451) in a Tennessee study found the value of farm living obtained from farms increased according to the amount of education of the farmer. Hamlin (405) measured increases in legume acreage and concluded that agricultural instruction had a direct and definite result. The above findings corroborate other studies (374, 412, 431, 465, 471) that farmers with more schooling have higher incomes.

Kuznets and Friedman (419) found restrictions of entry as the prime cause of differences in income between the professions, and stated "about half of the observed difference between the incomes of physicians and dentists is attributable to restriction of entry into medicine." Various expenses of secondary-school attendance which act as effective barriers to the achieving of such training for many young people were listed by Dailard (386). A study by Clark and others (381) showed that high incomes go to certain occupations requiring long and expensive training. Whatever skill and earning power are secured thru such training, the fact remains that lack of financial resources is a severe handicap if not a complete barrier to completing such training.

Conclusion—The weight of evidence indicates that there is a high correlation between amount of schooling and income in later life. There is little research however which attempts to ascertain to what extent increased income is due to specific school training and not to other factors. In some cases educational requirements may act to raise incomes, not by the giving of skills or training alone, but by restricting in various ways the numbers engaged in the occupations and so creating a semimonopoly of such services.

Vocational Guidance

Perhaps no objective of education would be more universally agreed upon than that it should prepare young people for useful work, and aid them in choosing work for which they are fitted. Has the school trained efficient workers and contributed to a balanced distribution of the labor supply? We may examine the guidance function first. The extent of the vocational guidance movement is indicated in a study of "Trends in Secondary Education" (414) which in 1934 surveyed 1,111 junior and senior high schools in a representative sampling, and found that 68 percent of

those reporting offered instruction in occupational information. Edgerton (391) stated, however, after careful study that guidance was offering perceptible benefits to less than 20 percent of the total secondary-school and college population in 29 states investigated. A nationwide investigation of 72,143 positions in 2,630 separate occupational classifications, and corresponding training provisions, revealed that students were still being trained according to job specifications as they existed from four to twenty years ago.

Eckert and Marshall (390) in the New York state high-school survey discovered totally inadequate and unrealistic planning by most young people as to their occupational prospects. Of the 1,641 graduates or withdrawals questioned, about 55 percent had received no advice concerning the curriculum they had entered, and only about one in four had been advised by anyone connected with the school. Roemer and Hoover (456) secured data from 84 deans of boys in senior high schools in 28 states and 60 different school systems. They found a great amount and variety of services given, and commented on cooperation with a number of agencies outside the schools. A short but comprehensive study by Cunliffe (384) reviewed changes in our industrial society bringing new needs for guidance and occupational training. He found teaching of occupations increasing greatly, with counseling less widely accepted. A 1938 study of "Population Trends and Their Educational Implications" (439) also noted the need for guidance both for youth and for adults in our shifting population as they are "called upon to make personal adjustments to new regions, new associates, new occupations, and new social environments." Studies by Reavis (452) and Melvin and Smith (430) agreed as to the great need for sound guidance service.

Disproportionate percents—Sparling investigated 1,011 students of Long Island University (461) and concluded that students chose very unwisely, considering their lack of information about the occupation, higher intelligence levels in the occupation, low grades in subjects preparatory to the work chosen, and other factors. Seventy percent chose one of three of the most overcrowded vocations in the United States and 95 percent one of four of the most overcrowded occupations in the metropolitan area. Bedford (376) found, however, that when schools offered a wider diversity of courses students chose more widely, and that in the smallest schools with the narrowest curriculums there was the highest proportion choosing the professions as careers. This survey of 1,211 high-school students in California states that only about 60 percent of the boys and girls even professed to know the requirements of occupations they had chosen and that a large number who had made choices were not taking courses preparatory for them. Forty-two percent of this group gave some profession as their aim, against a 7 percent national average of such workers in 1930; 10 percent manufacturing against a 29 percent average; 6 percent agriculture against 22 percent; and 18 percent clerical against 8 percent.

Bell (377) found Maryland youth ignorant of the requirements of dif-

ferent occupations and of their own qualifications in relation to them. Five out of six wanted vocational education for professional, business, or skilled trade occupations. The inadequacy of guidance is further illustrated by the results of studies by Jones (415), Kotschnig (418), Bartlett and Neel (373), Kuznets and Friedman (419). Kotschnig's study is a thorough analysis of the problems of unemployment in the learned professions. He cited statistical evidence of the growing "surplus" or proportion of qualified workers in medicine, law, dentistry, teaching, and other professions not only in the United States but also in other countries.

Effect of curriculum—Hadley (404) showed that rural high schools in Pennsylvania which provided vocational agricultural courses sent 8.6 times as many graduates into agricultural work as other rural high schools where such courses were not given. Factors such as actual residence on a farm or ability to secure farms upon graduation were not evaluated. Studies by Kay (416) and Stimson (466) also showed that a higher proportion of students studying vocational agriculture actually became farmers than did students of similar backgrounds not receiving such training. Haugen and Douglass (409), studying 388 boys and girls in two Minneapolis junior high schools, concluded that following a course in occupations, among other findings, there was a marked increase in those choosing future occupations, in choice of a particular high-school branch of study, and in intelligent understanding of the problems involved.

Predicting vocational success—Thorndike and others (470) in a study testing and following up over 2,000 children over a ten-year period checked on the reliability of various tests given these children for predicting vocational success. He derived in some cases positive scores, but accuracy of prediction was comparatively low, in some cases little better than pure chance. Fleming (394), however, in studying over 3,000 boys enrolled in a trade school derived a formula for selecting applicants based on averages of former shop teachers' marks, average of marks in English, mathematics, and science, and intelligence ratings. He also found agreement between shop teachers' marks and later employer ratings. Douglass (389) also showed the possibility of considerable accuracy in predicting scholastic success of dentistry candidates. These studies indicate that while guidance may be handicapped at present in the technics of predicting individual success from early ratings of personal characteristics, progress toward more effective methods is being made.

Occupational Training

The extensive development of different kinds of education has witnessed among other things a strong movement for relating school activity much more directly to the requirements of specific occupations. This has been reflected in important changes in methods and materials in academic curriculums, and particularly in the development of federally aided vocational courses and vocational schools. Russell and others (457) have provided a

detailed description of the development and present status of such vocational education. After noting favorable results of the vocational education program, they listed some disadvantages, such as promotion of a limited concept of vocational education, diversion of funds from general education, encouragement of a dual system of schools, difficulties in administering local schools including vocational classes, and inadequate guidance and placement services. A lengthy evaluation of programs was made, but included very little as to intrinsic results of the training given.

Specialized vs. broad training—T. L. Norton (444) showed the great increase in vocational education in New York state in recent years, with considerably larger enrolments in all branches. The question of the kind of training which should be offered is raised: “. . . less than 30 percent of the graduates (of commercial courses) have been employed in jobs involving the skills in which they were trained.” Even in the more favored group, the industrial school graduates, only 63 percent of the graduates in 1936 were holding such jobs. A broader rather than a too specialized form of training seems advisable.

Kotschnig (418) quoted General Rees of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company that “80 percent of the gainfully employed people in America could acquire the requisite skill within a period ranging from six weeks to one year” (418:307). Adaptability rather than high skill is needed. Similar data were given by Koepke (417) in “A Job Analysis of Manufacturing Plants in Minnesota.” He found 55 percent of operations performed requiring training time of two months or less, 72 percent nine months or less. Rainey (449) stated “. . . studies indicate that not more than 5 percent of all workers in industry require skilled training and that approximately 95 percent of these are now trained on the job under the supervision of a foreman. . . . Other recent studies indicate that approximately 75 percent of all types of jobs (exclusive of the professions, semi-professions, and skilled trades) require no formal training to enter them.” He quoted United States Employment Service studies that “. . . a recent survey in one of our centers of 1,100 occupations requiring no experience showed that 77 percent required no formal education and less than 1 percent required trade school education. These requirements were based on the hiring qualifications as stated by employers.” These statements, of course, throw no light on the question as to whether a trained labor force for the whole nation would not produce far more than an untrained one.

Relating training to needs—Davis (388) described vocational planning in Los Angeles that included a well-organized guidance and training program. In Milwaukee one of the best occupational training and adjustment programs gave considerable attention to trends in jobs. Numerous other instances were given of vocational training carefully planned according to occupational needs in the community. An analysis of over 25,000 jobs done about homes by boys and their parents was made by Perry (447) to determine the need for industrial arts training. We may note here a criticism

often made of trade and technical education, that needs are not carefully evaluated before programs of training are set up. The extent of real displacement of workers by new machines was questioned by Fryklund (398). Such technological changes do not remove the need for vocational preparation, he contends, but require greater adaptability of workers as occupational requirements change.

An example of planning for occupational adjustment is given by Reeves (453) in his description of the vocational education program carried on at the Tennessee Valley Authority. In this project, training in a great variety of jobs was given to increase opportunities for the men who would be laid off when the TVA construction work ended. Bingham (378) outlined the trends in different occupational fields, suggesting a method for more careful and longer term planning for occupational adjustment in training and retraining workers. Hosler (413) described a successful plan for occupational training and adjustment in the Canal Zone. A survey was made of all occupations in the territory, including rates of turnover, needs for workers in previous years, and apparent trends. On the basis of these careful calculations the training and distribution of workers was mapped out, with the result that efficient workers were provided and unemployment was practically eliminated. The application of such methods elsewhere was suggested.

Evaluation of Occupational Training

Spaulding (462) reported no widespread differences in employment or unemployment traceable to differences in high-school courses in general high schools. However, vocational graduates made far more successful vocational adjustments than graduates of the academic curriculums. Eighty-two percent of these boys were employed as against 60 percent of the other group, 53 percent of the girls versus 40 percent of the other group, both boys and girls with vocational education showing higher earnings. Eckert and Marshall (390) found that graduates of vocational schools seem better satisfied with their school training and also with their jobs than those of the general high schools. The median salary of general high-school graduates is given as \$14.63 a week, that for vocational high-school graduates \$18.50. This despite the fact that selection in the schools placed brightest students in the college preparatory group, next brightest in the commercial group, and dullest in the industrial group.

Organized labor at first approved the efforts to extend vocational education and the American Federation of Labor worked strongly for federal aid before the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917. A review by Broach and Parker (379) stated that this attitude rapidly changed to criticism of the way in which the program was administered. Complaints were made of antiunion attitudes and domination by employer interests in vocational schools, large amounts of work done outside school leaving regular workers unemployed, training of substandard workmen, and creating labor surpluses in some occupations thru ill-balanced training programs.

A study of the "Common Causes of Discharge of Office and Clerical Workers" (382) showed 89 percent of the discharges by seventy-six corporations as due to "character traits," and concluded that the responsibility of the schools for character education has increased. While inaccuracies in recording causes of discharges should be kept in mind, it is significant that mention of inadequate knowledge or skill training by the schools was not more frequent. Matthews (429) studied 9,041 young persons in New York City, and found that "as a group, unemployed young men and women . . . had less education than other young persons of the age group studied."

Expenditures for vocational rehabilitation are justified on an economic as well as a civic basis. Scurlock (459) studied such rehabilitation over a ten-year period in Oklahoma, found very favorable employment conditions of those rehabilitated, and estimated that it cost several times as much for charity maintenance as for rehabilitation. A long-term study by Frasier (397) followed a group of young people from the first grade, observed enrolments at successive years, and occupations of those out of school. He found practically all the jobs held to be blind-alley jobs, and proposed a plan to provide education for all types of individuals, including part-time cooperative education following high school.

Conclusions—While it has long been assumed that the school was an effective means for preparing efficient and useful workers, there is little evidence to prove this or to show how efficient such training is. Some of the highly skilled professions and arts may require long and intensive training, though even here a great deal might be dispensed with. For the great bulk of the world's work it seems probable that, given literacy and good health, workers could be made efficient in production with a few weeks or at most a few months of training. In the field of guidance it is apparent that some schools are rendering useful service, but that the majority are ineffective. The chaos in the present use of our labor resources and the confusion in the minds of young people is evident.

Placement Service

The problem of placement was thoroughly studied by Atkinson, Odenrantz, and Deming (372) in their book *Public Employment Service in the United States*. Instances were described where schools have carried on placement work or cooperated with public or private employment services for placement of inexperienced workers. An analysis of the problem was given, with the arguments for separate placement offices operated by school systems, and those in favor of cooperation by schools with junior placement divisions in public employment offices. While a large number of schools, as in Providence, Oakland, and Baltimore, are carrying on their own programs, the authors quoted strong arguments against organizing in school systems departments duplicating in many ways the work of the employment offices. Recent advances in the placement, follow-up, and retraining of young workers were cited. The National Occupational Conference (441)

likewise considered the problem of junior placement, and described methods and organization for placement in several leading school systems.

Citizenship

The success of the schools in promoting good citizenship is difficult to measure in the concrete terms we have wished to use in this study. This function is so important, however, that it must be examined briefly in a few of its many phases. We shall note primarily the apparent effect of education on participation in community activities.

Melvin and Smith (430), in their very useful study of rural youth, found that participation in social organizations depended largely on economic status and educational attainment. In Illinois it was found that participation by farm people in community activities was in direct relation to extent of schooling. In Arkansas, however, age and auto ownership were more closely related to participation in religious, social, and recreational events than any other factors tested. A sharp drop in participation in social activities when rural youth leave school was observed. This study, in its survey of leisure activities, found the schools not generally taking the lead in improving the recreational level of the community. Brunner and Lorge (380) found an opposite tendency in villages and towns. The study of *Schools in Small Communities* (435) also showed the opportunities of such schools in promoting worthwhile activities.

Hanna and others (406) attempted to go beyond the usual expressed philosophy and objectives and find instances where young people had brought about real and concrete improvements in their communities. The projects described dealt with such concrete and commonplace problems as eliminating unsightly or dangerous "eyesores" in a community, destroying the breeding places of rats, mice, mosquitoes, and flies, providing needed clothing for children of relief families, planting school gardens for better family diets, and writing up interesting local history. Several facts should be noted from this study. One is that leaders in the schools provided the initiative for these useful activities. Another is that the activities by young people enlisted the encouragement, and often the participation, of adults in the community, and resulted in improvements which were easily recognizable by the community.

Gunnison (403) stressed the possibilities of organized youth in a drive against corrupt politics, referring to Kansas City and Seattle among other examples. Hartford (408) likewise described the accomplishments of student clubs and election projects. Littell (423) told how public schools in Detroit, Des Moines, and Tulsa instruct students in civic affairs and follow thru to participation in election campaigns. The Regents' Inquiry study of out-of-school youth (390) stated that young people did not appear to be keeping adequately informed, as they should to be good citizens. The report also stated that many of the constructive avocational activities begun in school were discontinued when the pupils left school. Graduates of the

general high-school courses seemed to be more active in group activities after leaving school. Bell (377) in the Maryland youth survey found a direct relation between good attainment and later participation in social activities.

Perhaps the schools would do more in civic training if the people in controlling positions approved. The extent to which conservative influences in "Middletown" control and shape the policies of the schools was considered by the Lynds (425). This negative influence prevented teachers from encouraging students to investigate critically conditions and institutions in their community. A study of civic education in New York state secondary schools (473) found that present teaching is too routinized and too little adapted to differences in pupils and communities. The concept of the school as an agency to integrate the various other agencies in the community was expressed and illustrated by Everett (393) and Reller (454). Wofford (477) described three concepts of the function of the school—as a community center, as teaching children only, and as an agency for integrating community efforts and training for leadership in them.

Conclusions—In the area of citizenship, as in others, wide differences in schools are evident. Much teaching for citizenship is confined to civics or other social studies courses, and is formal, stereotyped, lacking in clear purpose, poorly constructed from poor materials, and mainly concerned with meeting technical examination standards. Wilson's study (473) described these conditions well. Such failure in many cases is due more to an unawareness, at best, of the implications of modern social problems and to intellectual dry rot in the teaching profession than to stultifying reactionary forces in the community. In other cases, as shown in the "Middletown" studies, certain pressure groups in the community may prevent the interpretation of civic ideals in terms of local and possibly controversial problems or may lead to emphasis in particular areas.

In a third type of school, the teachers and pupils vigorously attack real problems in the community and pupils are encouraged to act with others outside the school to begin worthy new enterprises or institute reforms. Here results are direct and concrete.

Educational Opportunity and Social Mobility

The negative effect of unequal educational opportunity upon social and occupational mobility is a problem of serious social as well as economic import. Mort (433), Norton and Norton (443), Ashby (371), and others have investigated educational need and relative ability of states to support education. Long (424) and Greyer (402) showed inequalities in educational opportunity in North Carolina and Illinois, particularly with relation to schools in low attendance rural areas. Morgan and Lancelot (432) suggested possibilities for increasing school services in such areas at minimum increase in costs thru consolidating school districts.

Garnett (399) observed that in poor areas in Virginia, children now re-

ceive scarcely any more education than the previous generation did, and that "the children of unskilled laborers, subsistence farmers, and miners are the ones most prone to drop out of school in the earlier grades." Ras-kopf (451) found in his Tennessee study that 46 percent of all white and Negro children of relief clients had never attended school. Bell (377) recorded much significant information on this problem, secured thru personal interviews with over 13,000 Maryland youth sixteen to twenty-four years of age. Generally it was found that youth from relief or low income families were much less likely to continue schooling. The author pointed out that such limited education tended strongly toward social and economic stratification and the strengthening of social barriers.

Literacy and Education

According to the United States Bureau of the Census, illiteracy in the United States has decreased steadily from 20 percent in 1870 to 4.3 percent in 1930. The schools have not everywhere been equally successful in reducing illiteracy. In 1930, according to Melvin and Smith (430), about 5 percent of rural farm youth fifteen to twenty-four years of age were illiterate, 3 percent of rural nonfarm youth, and only 1 percent of urban youth. The direct results of a campaign for better schools in reducing illiteracy in the South were described by Dabney (385). From 1901 to 1910 illiteracy among whites was reduced from 19 percent to 12 percent, among Negroes from 48 percent to 32 percent. Illiteracy of white children in the fourteen southern states was reduced from 10 percent in 1900 to 4 percent in 1914. Maller (428), however, in a study of New York state found 5.5 percent illiterate in urban areas, against 2.2 percent in rural areas. Foreign-born and Negro populations accounted for high illiteracy rates in some localities. Winston (476) ascertained the degree of correlation between ten factors relating to schools systems, and illiteracy. Correlations with illiteracy were: birth-rate, .49; infant mortality, .61; early marriage, .43; size of family, .36; mobility, -.58; suicide, -.74; and urbanization, -.49.

Delinquency, Crime, and Education

Crime is no longer considered due solely to qualities in the individual but as due in part to his environment. In looking for possible effects of education on delinquency we must therefore consider general conditions as well as specific educational aims. In one of the leading studies of delinquents, Glueck and Glueck (400) showed that of 823 cases in Boston, parents were illiterate in 29 percent of the cases, compared with a general rate for the city of 5 percent; that 85 percent of the delinquents were at least one year retarded in their schoolwork, 24 percent being retarded three or more years—rates far above normal. The authors do not argue that the type of educational training or lack of training contributes to delinquency. Beard (375), in another study of five hundred Boston delinquents, found that of those still in school more than one-half were unhappy there,

"whether because of curricula ill adapted to their needs or because of attitudes incompatible with school adjustment." Various school changes were made, by transfers to special schools, tutoring, etc., and "of the ninety-two probationers whose school problems were solved, 57 percent were successes while only 35 percent were successful when their educational needs were not met" (375: 145).

That a large proportion of delinquents are maladjusted in school was corroborated by Healy and Bronner (410) who compared 105 delinquents and the same number of nondelinquents from the same families as controls. At least 60 percent of the delinquents were truants, while 53 percent expressed dislike for school or for some teacher. Shulman (460) in a study of 251 adolescents stated that truancy was in a great number of cases the beginning of a criminal career. Lane and Witty (421) found the low educational attainment of 650 boys in a correctional institution to be much below their mental ability, suggesting retardation due to other factors than intelligence. These boys were more successful with training planned according to their particular problems. An extensive project to reduce delinquency in a poor neighborhood was described by Peyser (448). This project included a large number of extracurriculum and community activities with the aim of securing the most favorable environmental conditions possible for child growth and development. Maryland youth, questioned on what communities might do to keep young people out of trouble, suggested providing recreational facilities in 48 percent of the cases.

Sullenger (467) made a comprehensive study of social determinants of delinquency in the home, play group, schools, neighborhood, street trades, newspaper policy, density, mobility and growth of population, and family relief. He concluded that home conditions (physical, mental, moral, social, and economic) are causative in more than one-half of all cases of delinquency. "The school becomes a determinant in juvenile delinquency because of inadequate facilities for recreation, rigid and inelastic discipline, poorly enforced attendance laws, wrong grading, unsympathetic and untrained teachers, undesirable attitude of pupils toward the teachers, failure to meet racial and mental differences by modification of the course of study, unfit and unwilling children given the same training as others, bad associations, and above all the lack of a socialized education" (467:73).

Conclusions—The direct effect of education in reducing crime has not been established. Indeed, in the failure of schools to provide a suitable and individualized program of training for children, the schools may even have been partly responsible for the first step, truancy, in many criminal careers. Maladjustment in school may often be symptomatic of more basic maladjustments. These may be fears, resentments, feelings of inadequacy or humiliation, or desires for approval, tracing back to parental mistreatment, lack of life necessities, or other conditions outside the school. Some few accounts such as that of Peyser (448) showed how schools have cooperated in some instances to reduce delinquency and crime.

Safety

Various developments of presentday society, such as denser populations and the multiplication of machines, have made accidents a major problem. What has been the function of the schools in helping to reduce such loss? What results have actually been achieved thru safety education?

An N.E.A. research study (440) stated that safety education on a nation-wide basis was begun in 1922. ". . . the accidental death toll among school children was 6 percent less per 100,000 population in 1937 than in 1936," and there has been a total decrease since 1922 of 25 percent. Teaching of safety in the schools was held at least partly responsible for this improvement. In a brief but comprehensible study, MacMillan (427) reviewed the development of safety education in the public schools and described courses of study and activities. Motor vehicle deaths increased about 20 percent for children from 1922 to 1931, for adults nearly 160 percent. "In Detroit the death-rate of school children dropped 47 percent in the five years following the appointment of a supervisor of safety teaching. In St. Paul deaths from traffic accidents to school children have decreased 50 percent since 1924. In St. Louis a reduction of 48 percent in child deaths from motor accidents . . . from 1923 to 1929, in Louisville . . . 66 percent. . . . In New York City over the past ten years fatal automobile deaths affecting adults increased 80 percent, while child deaths . . . decreased 30 percent." The author did not attempt to estimate the contributions of outside agencies which have been increasingly active in recent years.

Scheer (458) described a school safety program in Kansas City, where with 70,000 school children, during the whole year up to October 1937, there was not a single child fatality in the streets. In 1922 there occurred on the average one death of a school child every twenty-six days. Similar results were achieved in Seattle (426). A Pennsylvania study (446) inquired into accidents in industrial school shops. The White House Conference (472) noted best results in accident reduction in cities with the most complete safety programs, and among other estimates, figured a possible saving of 6,000 child lives in 1928 alone. In a brief résumé of the rapid development and present extent of safety education in the schools, Stack (464) stated that over 8,000 schools in 1938 had courses in traffic safety, with even more including other phases of safety. He quoted statisticians to the effect that the annual saving of lives of children is about 8,000. Traffic safety, he said, is receiving a disproportionate amount of attention. Swift (468) sketched briefly the history of the safety education movement, and noted that approximately twenty colleges and universities in 1938 offered technical training courses in safety education.

Conclusions—It may be said that in the important field of safety education, more than in most others, the schools can demonstrate actual and concrete results for their efforts. One reason is that accurate statistics are available as to accidents and their trends. Research is needed to determine the most effective materials and technics of safety instruction.

Health Education and Results

Schools have long given attention to the important subject of child and community health. In a statement of the "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education" health stood first on the list. However, in earlier days, courses in biology, chemistry, and the other sciences were presumed to teach the rules of health and indirectly to bring about more healthful living. The greatly expanded school health programs of recent years have attempted much more directly to improve conditions by more emphasis on health habits, by carrying on health campaigns in schools and outside, and to an increasing extent by providing preventive and remedial medical care.

A well-organized and comprehensive study of "Social Services and the Schools" (437) reporting data from 414 cities in 1936 showed high percentages for daily health inspections, dental examinations and treatment, medical treatment, psychiatric service, visiting nurse service, and weighing and measuring. Of the 414 school systems, about 175 provided school lunches for indigents, either alone or with other agencies; many also provided clothing and eye glasses for such children. "A Study of School and Municipal Relationships in Cities of 50,000 or More Population" (411) reported that some school systems maintain independently well-equipped health service directed by qualified health supervisors.

A report on the child health demonstration in Rutherford County, Tennessee, from 1924 to 1928 (434), described the building of a health program for a low income rural county. Teaching habits of cleanliness, sanitation, and proper diet resulted in definite improvements in the schools and the community. Information, both general and in series of tables, was given on these accomplishments. This study is especially significant because it reveals the schools as initiating a full community health program. The development of health education and care in New York City was described in a study of the city's complete health services (455). By the end of 1937, the Bureau of School Hygiene employed a total of 493 employees, its services including careful medical examinations of all children, dental examinations and dental care, eye and cardiac clinics, and others. This bureau, while it operated very closely with the schools, was officially a department under the city board of health. Spencer's study (463) investigated present practice in school health procedures for classroom teachers and recommended more effective materials and better training of instructors. LaPorte (422) described a physical education curriculum resulting from nine years of study by the Committee on Curriculum Research of the College Physical Education Association.

Odell (445), reporting on three years of nutrition work in Cattaraugus County, listed actual results in improved diets for sanatoria patients; stocking of green vegetables, fruit, and whole grain cereals in local grocery stores; family gardens; and hot lunches in schools. Various persons reached by the program reported less illness and fifty-four children and adults improved their weights. These details are listed here because such careful

checking of results is in most cases neglected. The Bellevue-Yorkville Health Demonstration in Mid-Town New York City illustrated how the schools cooperated effectively in a broad and intensive community health project (474). Results in improved community health were noted. Education for Negroes, including attention to health problems, was discussed by Thomasson (469). Decrease in death-rates—total, infant, and tuberculosis—in a county under observation compared with similar rates for the state were ascribed partly to health work in the schools.

Some instances of startling improvements in health conditions of localities are given where the schools have played a major part in bringing about the change (370). "One hundred percent of the children of three white schools in my county, by the most superficial microscopic examination, were found to have hookworm. Practically all of my patients had malaria or intestinal infestation. This situation is now a thing of the past" (370: 141). The program as described was based upon training of teachers in preventive medicine and school hygiene and health activities carried on in or emanating from the schools.

An evaluation of health instruction in New York state schools (475) was not highly commendatory. Health instruction was rated good in Grades I thru III. From Grade IV on, instruction was regarded as ineffective, with material poorly selected, lacking in sequence, and poorly motivated. Health service was considered the least effective of any of the phases of the health program. Such an evaluation may be a useful check upon enthusiasm engendered by other studies. It illustrates again that the subjective judgment of experts may be more realistic and accurate than lengthy statistics which purport to show great accomplishments.

It was determined by a study (396) of seventy schools in various parts of the country that socio-economic factors such as nativity and economic status of family materially affect the results of the health program of the schools. Another study (395) undertook the evaluation of results of school health procedures in these seventy schools, allowing for the contributing influence of other forces. Conclusions were that teachers discover only a small proportion of cases needing attention and that coordinated action by health education supervisor, teacher, nurse, and medical examiner is needed. Hanna and others (406) listed a number of instances where groups of children, guided or encouraged by their teachers, have carried thru concrete projects to improve the health conditions of their communities. In a carefully organized twelve-year study of the influences of a health program on the growing child, Hardy and Hoefer (407) found that according to a number of indexes children who had participated in the program were significantly superior to control pupils not included. This study is one of the best reviewed. Control groups were used to check findings, allowances were made for contributing forces, and comprehensive tests were made before, during, and at the end of the study by experts in several fields. It appeared to show conclusively that the health program carried on by the schools resulted in material benefit to the children.

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